



Do pathways to citizenship matter?

Outcomes of citizenship policies across countries

Floris Peters

EMN webinar, 26-11-2020

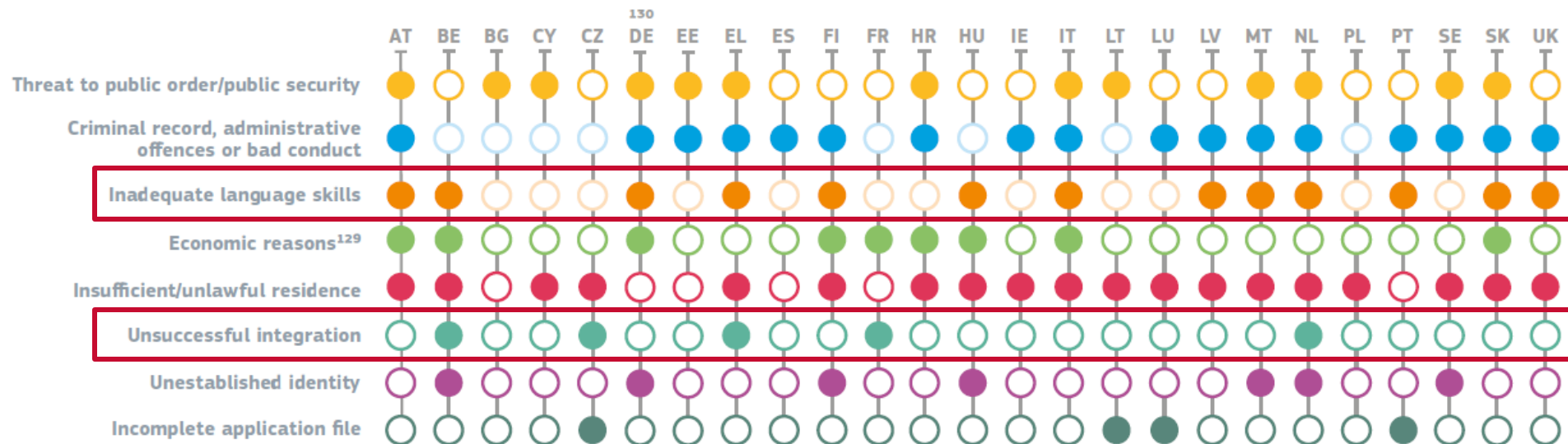
milife**status**...

Do pathways to citizenship matter?

- The EMN report (and the previous presentations) show **substantial heterogeneity in citizenship policies** between EU member states:
 - Residence requirement
 - Required documentation
 - Subsistence requirement / application fees
 - Language / integration requirement
 - Dual citizenship toleration
- So **what are the consequences** of those differences for **immigrant naturalization**?

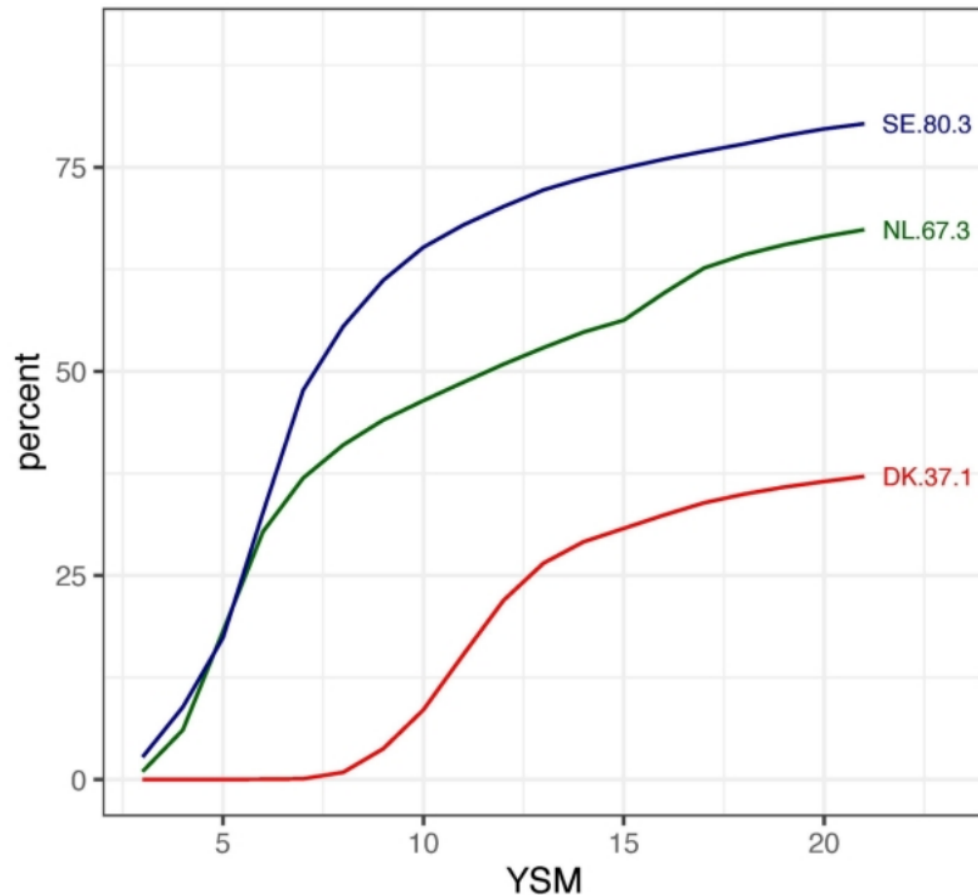
- Many EU countries have language and/or civic integration tests as a requirement for naturalization. Do these matter?

FIGURE 6: MOST COMMON GROUNDS FOR A NEGATIVE DECISION ON A CITIZENSHIP APPLICATION



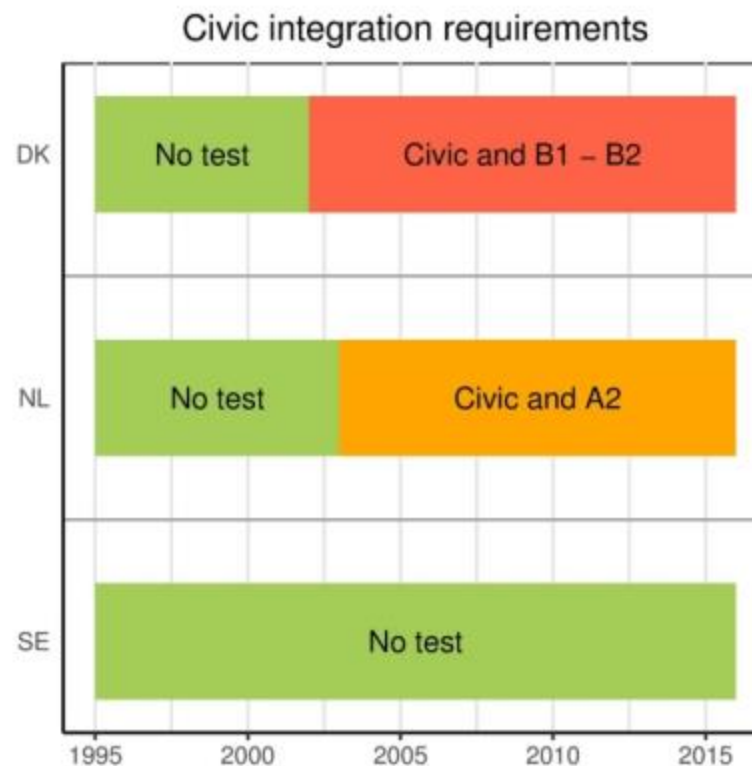
Source: EMN (2020), p. 26.

- A comparison of cumulative naturalization rates in liberal and restrictive destination countries.

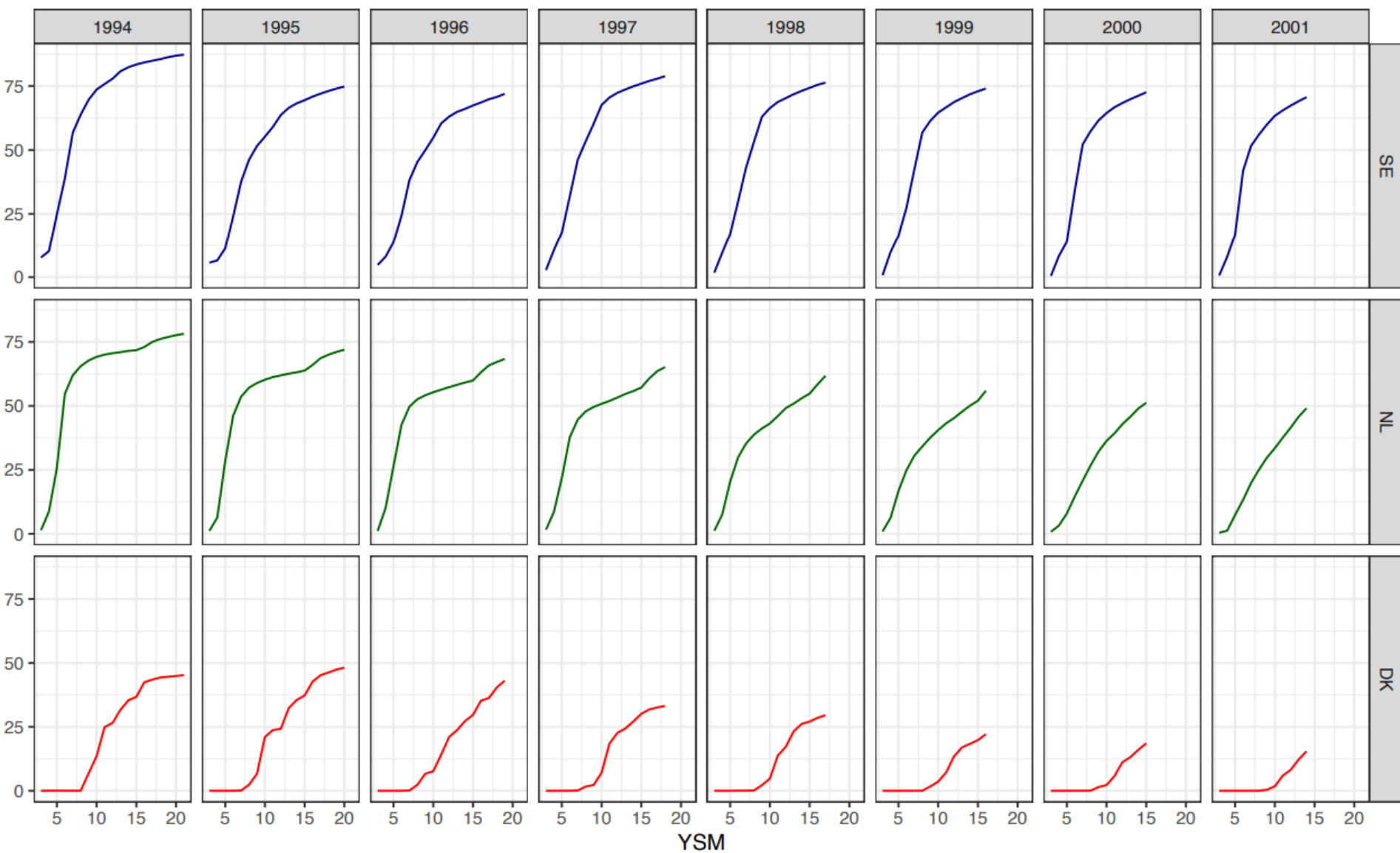


Source: Vink et al. (2021).

- Denmark and the Netherlands have grown increasingly restrictive over time.
- Is that also reflected in naturalization rates?

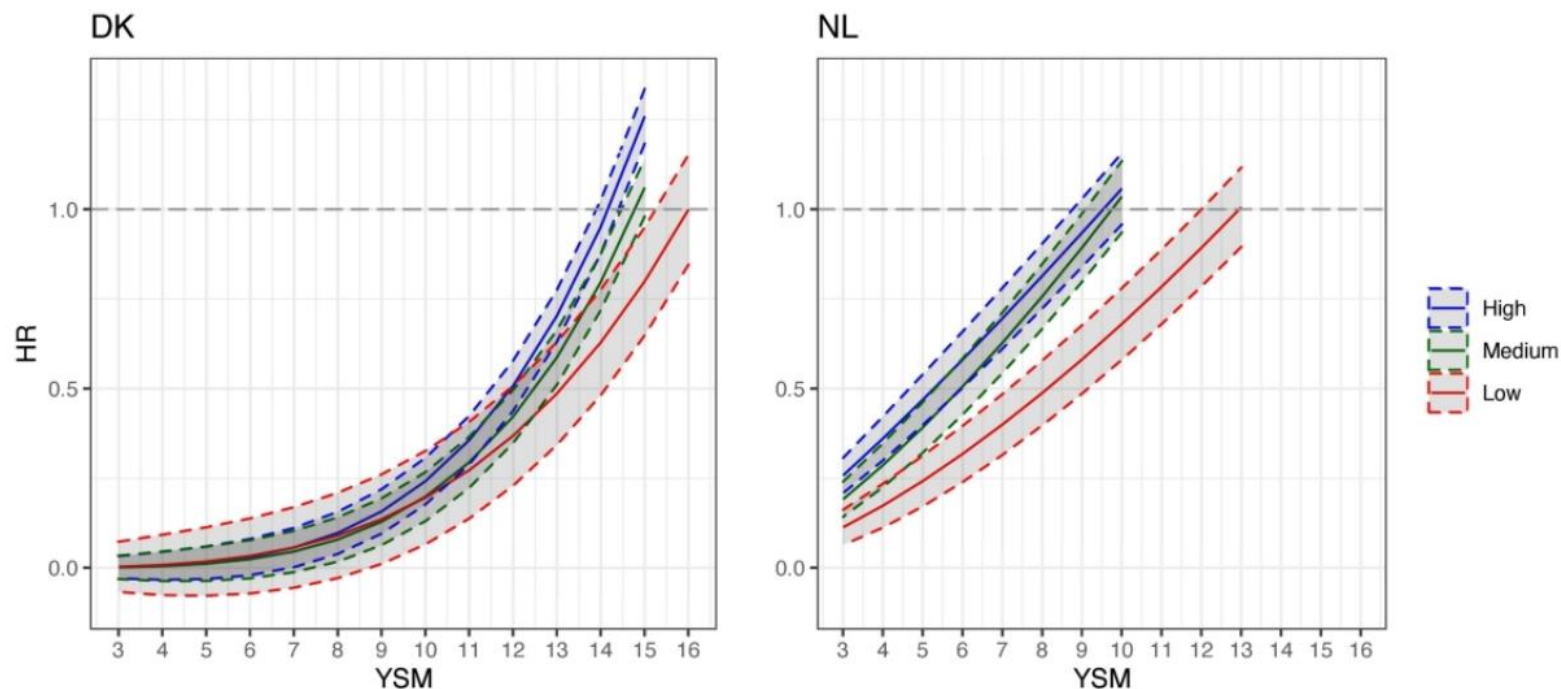


Source: Vink et al. (2021).



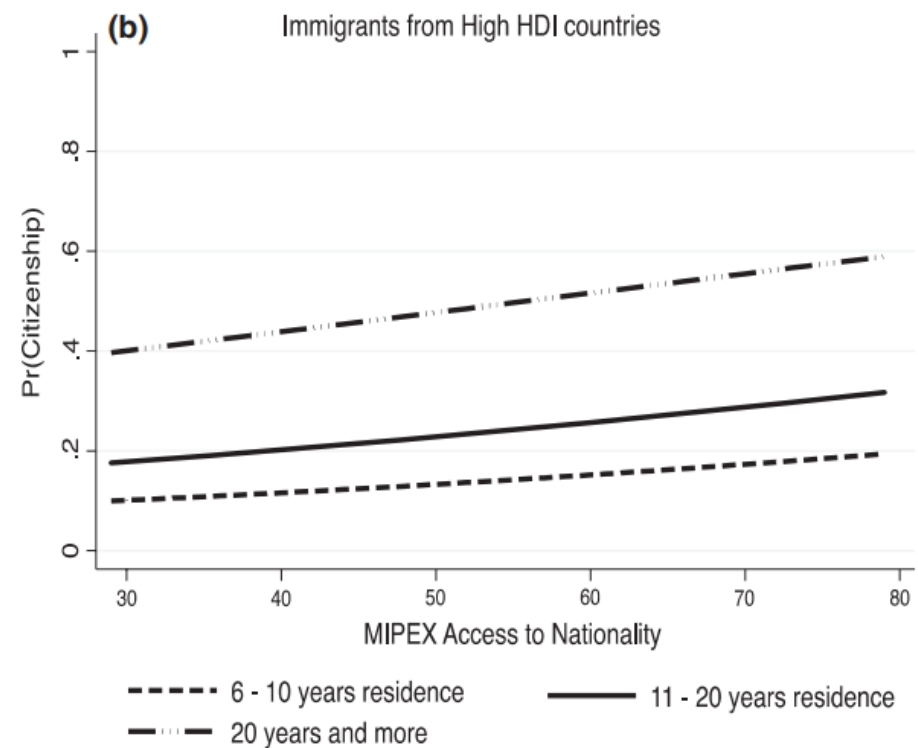
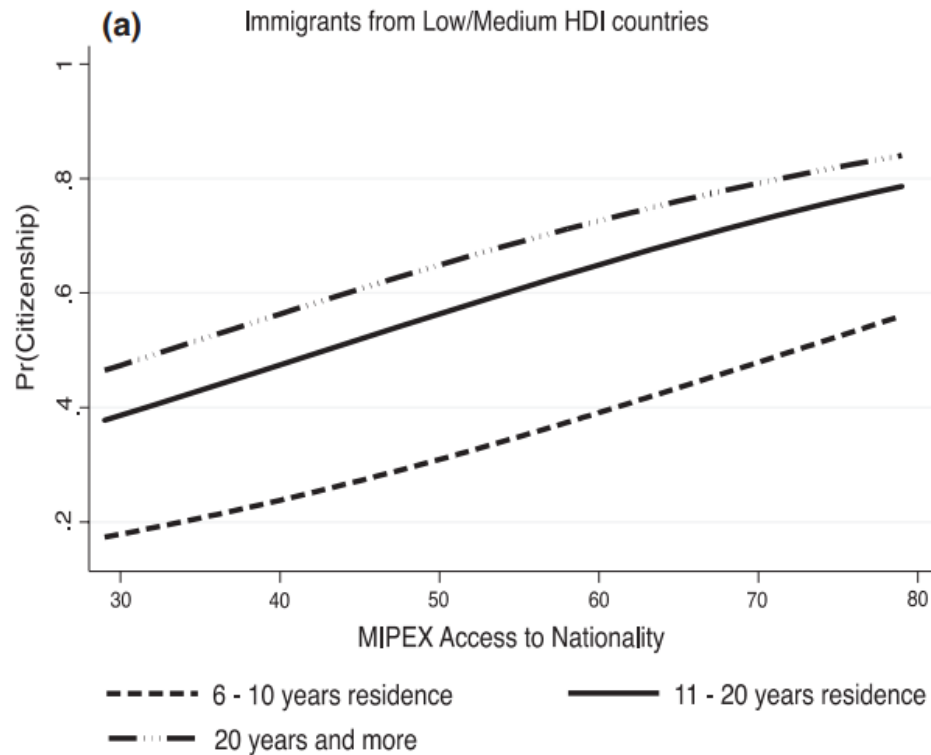
Source: Vink et al. (2021).

- How long do migrants need to catch up to the naturalization rate of their hypothetical peers who did not have to do civic or linguistic tests?
 - DK: 14 years (5 years after eligibility)
 - NL: 10 years (5 years after eligibility)
- Language and integration tests in particular present an obstacle to naturalization for **migrants with lower levels of education** (and from **less developed origin countries**).
 - DK: 16 years (7 years after eligibility)
 - NL: 13 years (8 years after eligibility)



Source: Vink et al. (2021).

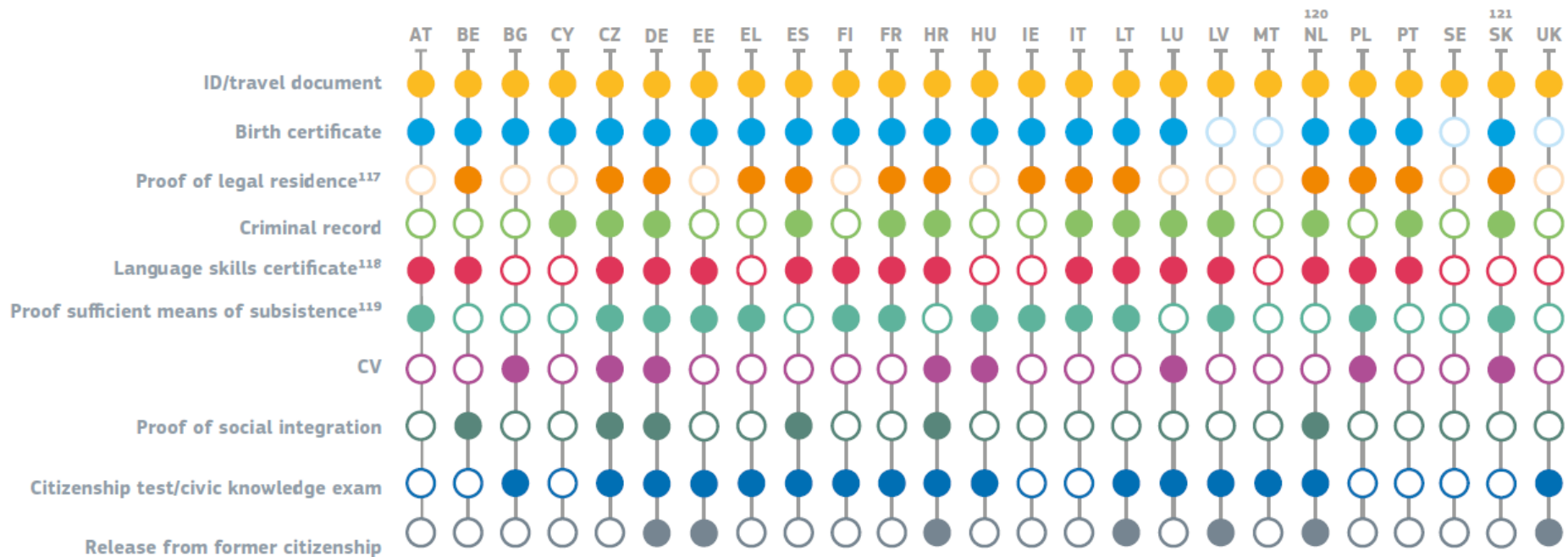
- How generalizable are these findings across Europe?
- Findings from 16 European countries:



Source: Vink et al. (2013).

- How about the extent to which naturalization is promoted, and procedures are facilitating?

FIGURE 5: REQUIRED DOCUMENTATION FOR THE SUBMISSION OF A CITIZENSHIP APPLICATION¹¹⁶



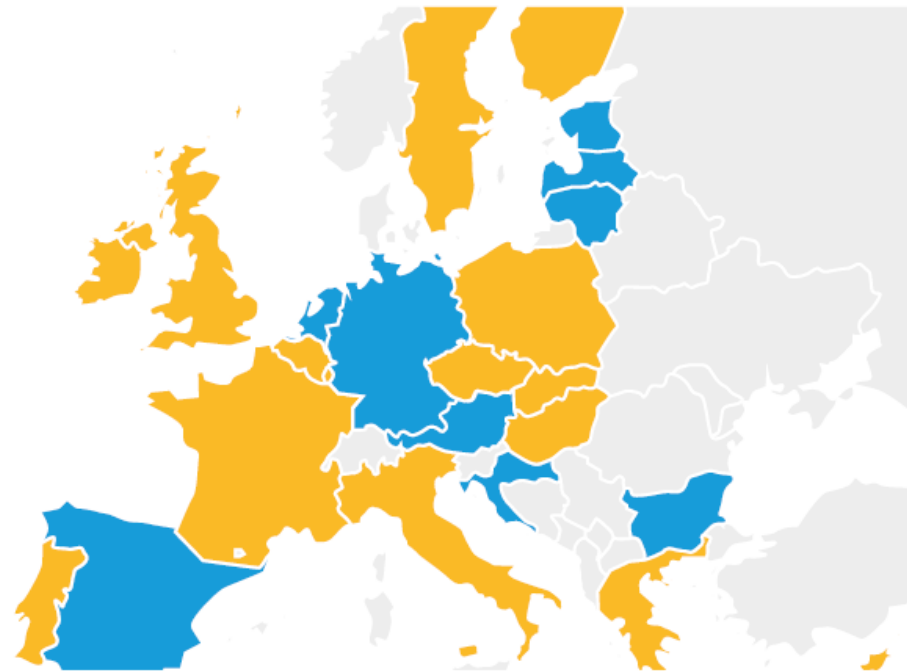
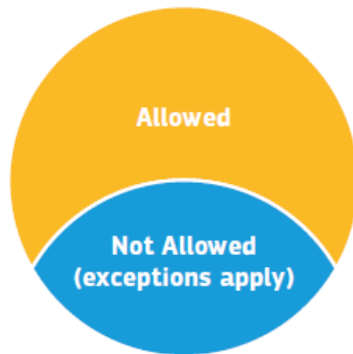
Source: EMN (2020), p. 25.

- Research in six European countries (BE, FR, HU, IT, PT, ES) reveals that not only policies, but also **naturalization procedures matter**.
 - Promotion
 - Documentation
 - Direction
 - Bureaucracy
 - Judicial Review
- If naturalization is promoted, and its acquisition facilitated, not only naturalization rates, but also **interest in naturalization increases**.

Source: Huddleston (2020).

- Does dual citizenship toleration affect naturalization rates, and if so, for whom?

MEMBER STATES' APPROACHES TO DUAL CITIZENSHIP



Source: EMN (2020), p. 30.

- In general, migrants are **less likely** to naturalize if they would **lose their original citizenship** in the process.
- What is the magnitude of that effect (all else constant)?
 - (Re)introduction of the renunciation requirement in NL in 1997: **-9.1 percentage points in 1998.**
 - The abolishment of the renunciation requirement in SE in 2001: **+41 percentage points in 2002.**
 - (effect smaller in NL in part because of exceptions)
- To whom does dual citizenship matter most?
 - Migrants from the **EU and other developed countries** (cost benefit)
 - **Recent arrivals** (life course)

Source: Peters & Vink (2020).

Note: manuscript in preparation [do not reference], but see for instance Mazzolari (2009).

TABLE 5: FEES CHARGED FOR THE CITIZENSHIP PROCEDURE (IN EUROS)

Member State	Application Fee	Administrative fee	Fee upon receipt of citizenship	Other fees
AT	€ 125.60	€ 52 - € 1 300	€ 247 - € 1 115	n/a
BE	€ 150	No fee	No fee	Local municipal authority fee: € 5- € 82 (example range, depends on local municipal authority)
BG	€ 50	No fee	€ 125	n/a
CZ	No fee	No fee	Approx. € 80 €	Czech language exams (approx. €132) and Czech civic knowledge (approx. €64)
DE	€ 255 € 51 for minors	n/a	n/a	e.g. citizenship test: € 25; Fees for the release from former citizenship
EE	€ 13 (a person under 18 years of age is exempt from state fee)	No fee	No fee	n/a
EL	€ 550 (100 for recognised refugees and stateless persons and co-ethnic Greeks (i.e. aliens of Greek ethnic origin)	No fee	No fee	n/a
ES	€ 102	No fee	No fee	Language test: € 55 Socio-cultural test € 85.
FI	€ 420 (electronic)/520 (paper)	No fee	No fee	n/a
FR	€ 55	No fee	No fee	n/a
HR	No fee	No fee	Approx. € 141	n/a
HU	No fee	No fee	No fee	Cost of citizenship test: approx. € 221 (equals to 50 % of minimum wage)
IE	€175	No fee	€ 950 for adults (refugees and stateless persons exempt) € 200 for minors or widow/ widower of Irish citizen	n/a
IT	€ 250	€ 16	No fee	n/a
LT	€ 62	No fee	No fee	n/a
LU	No fee	No fee	No fee	Language test: € 75 (possibility for reimbursement upon request)
LV	€ 28.46 (€ 4.27 for schoolchildren, students, disabled persons, pensioners)	No fee	No fee	No fee
MT	€ 450	No fee	€ 50	Oath of allegiance: € 10
NL	Standard fee: € 881 Together with a partner: € 1 124,- Accompanied child under 18: € 130 For stateless individuals/asylum seekers with a residence permit: € 655 Stateless individual/asylum seeker with residence permit together with a partner: € 899	No fee	No fee	Writing exam: € 50 Speaking exam: € 60 Listening exam: € 50 Reading exam: € 50 Social/cultural test: € 40 Labour Market Orientation test: € 40 Total: € 290 Participation statement if applicable
PL	n/a (only if lodged abroad: € 360	No fee	No fee	n/a
PT	€ 250	No fee	No fee	n/a
SE	€ 150	No fee	No fee	n/a
SK	No fee	No fee	€ 700	n/a
UK	Approx. € 1 498	No fee	No fee	Fee for participating in citizenship ceremony: approx. € 90

- Do fees matter, and if so, how much and to whom?
- **Fee waivers in the U.S. increased naturalization (+1.5 percentage points), especially among low educated and poorer migrants.**
- Understudied in Europe: on the agenda.

Source: EMN (2020), p. 24.

Conclusion: why does citizenship matter?

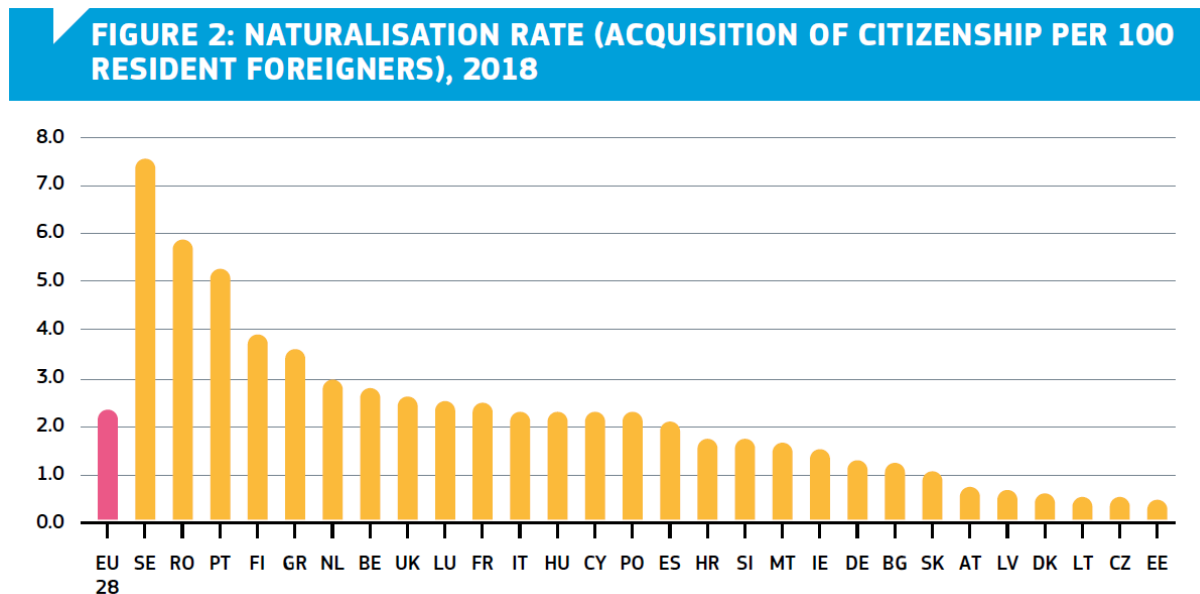
- **So what** if some migrant groups are less able to naturalize under more restrictive institutional conditions?
- Extensive body of research on the so-called ‘citizenship premium’ shows that **naturalization can promote integration**.
 - Probability of employment (Peters & Vink, 2018)
 - Earnings from labor (Hainmueller et al., 2019)
 - Homeownership (Peters, 2020)
 - Social integration (Hainmueller et al., 2016)
- Differences in citizenship policies across the EU condition migrants’ propensity and ability to naturalize, which has implications for their opportunity to participate and integrate.

References

- EMN (2020). *Pathways to citizenship for third-country nationals in the EU: EMN synthesis report for the EMN study 2019*. Brussels: European Migration Network.
- Hainmueller, J., Hangartner, D., & Pietrantuono, G. (2016). Catalyst or crown: does naturalization promote the long-term social integration of immigrants? *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, 112(41), 12651-12656.
- Hainmueller, J., Hangartner, D., & Ward, D. (2019). The effect of citizenship on the long-term earnings of marginalized immigrants: quasi-experimental evidence from Switzerland. *Science Advances*, 5(12). DOI: 10.1126/sciadv.aay1610.
- Huddleston, T. (2020). Naturalisation in context: how nationality laws and procedures shape immigrants' interest and ability to acquire nationality in six European countries. *Comparative Migration Studies*, 8(1), 1-20.
- Mazzolari, F. (2009). Dual citizenship rights: do they make for more and richer citizens? *Demography*, 46(1), 169-191.
- Peters, F. (2020). Naturalization and the transition to homeownership: an analysis of signalling in the Dutch housing market. *Housing Studies*, 35(7), 1239-1268.
- Peters, F., & Vink, M. P. (2020). Dual citizenship matters more for some than for others: destination country policy reform and immigrant naturalisation. *Manuscript in preparation*.
- Peters, F., Vink, M. P., & Schmeets, H. (2018). Anticipating the citizenship premium: before and after effects of immigrant naturalisation on employment. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 44(7), 1051-1080.
- Vink, M. P., Prokic-Breuer, T., & Dronkers, J. (2013). Immigrant naturalization in the context of institutional diversity: policy matters, but to whom?. *International Migration*, 51(5), 1-20.
- Vink, M., Tegunimataka, A., Peters, F. and Bevelander, P. (2021). Long-term heterogeneity in immigrant naturalisation: the conditional relevance of civic integration and dual citizenship, *European Sociological Review* (forthcoming). Pre-print available here: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/346487633_Long-term_heterogeneity_in_immigrant_naturalisation_the_conditional_relevance_of_civic_integration_and_dual_citizenship?isFromSharing=1.
- Yasenov, V., Hotard, M., Lawrence, D., Hainmueller, J., & Laitin, D. D. (2019). Standardizing the fee-waiver application increased naturalization rates of low-income immigrants. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, 116(34), 16768-16772.

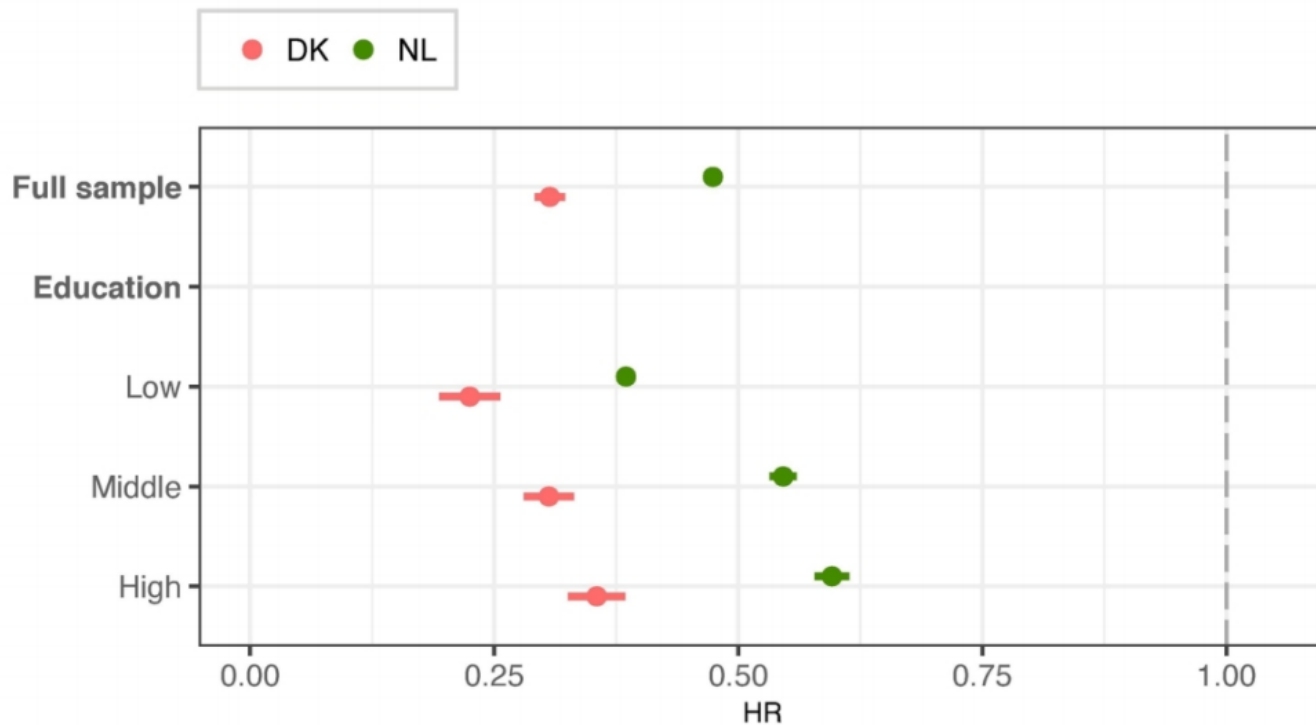
Annex I: Citizenship acquisition

- Differences in naturalization rates between countries suggest they matter, but:
 - Compositional differences between countries
 - Countries more restrictive/liberal on certain requirements than others
 - To whom do policies matter most?
 - Naturalization rates per year vs. cumulative naturalization rates per cohort



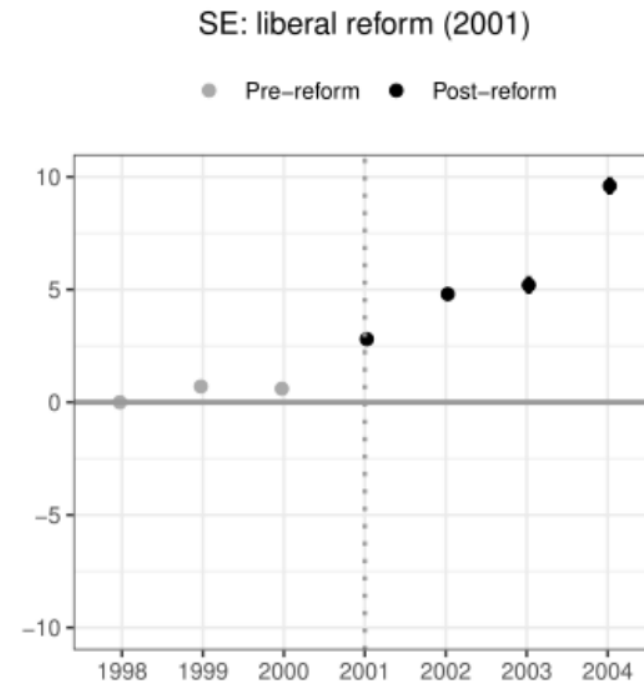
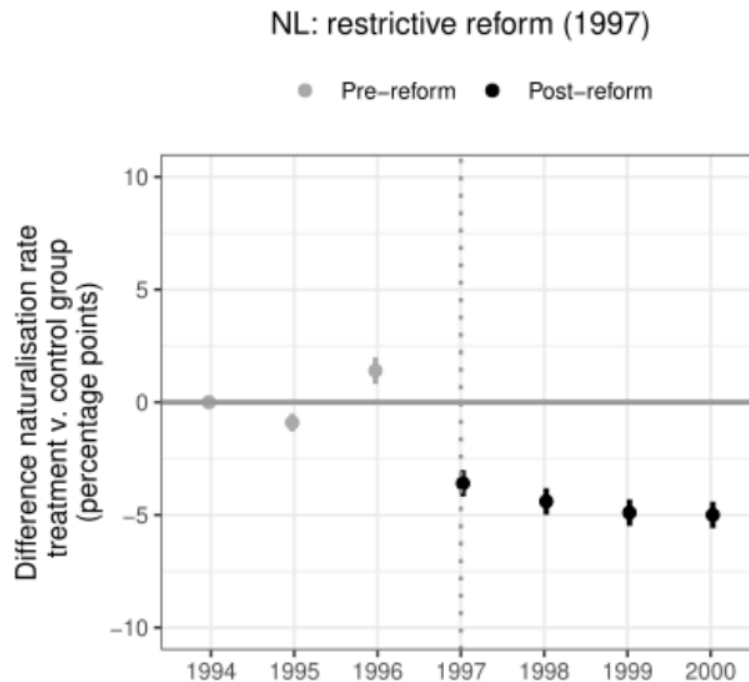
Source: EMN (2020), p. 12.

Citizenship acquisition (1)



Source: Vink et al. (2021).

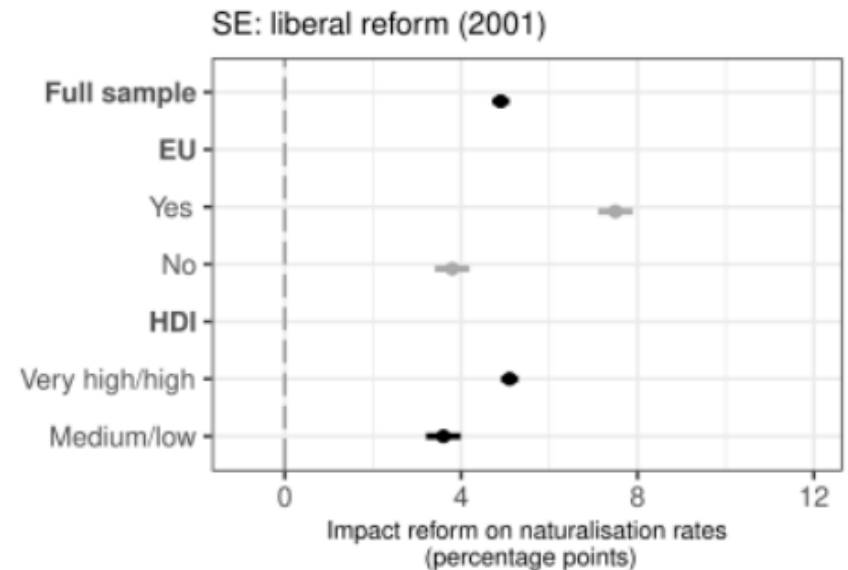
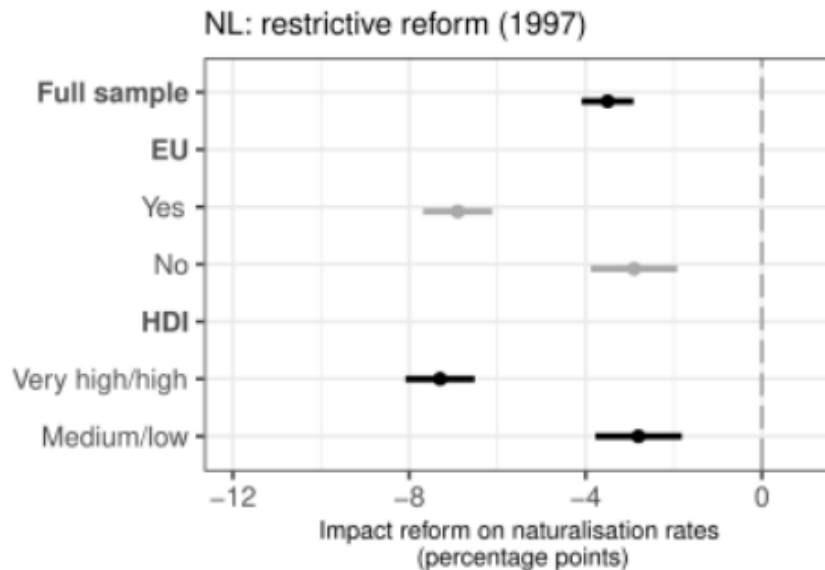
Citizenship acquisition (2)



Source: Peters & Vink (2020).

Note: manuscript in preparation [do not reference].

Citizenship acquisition (3)

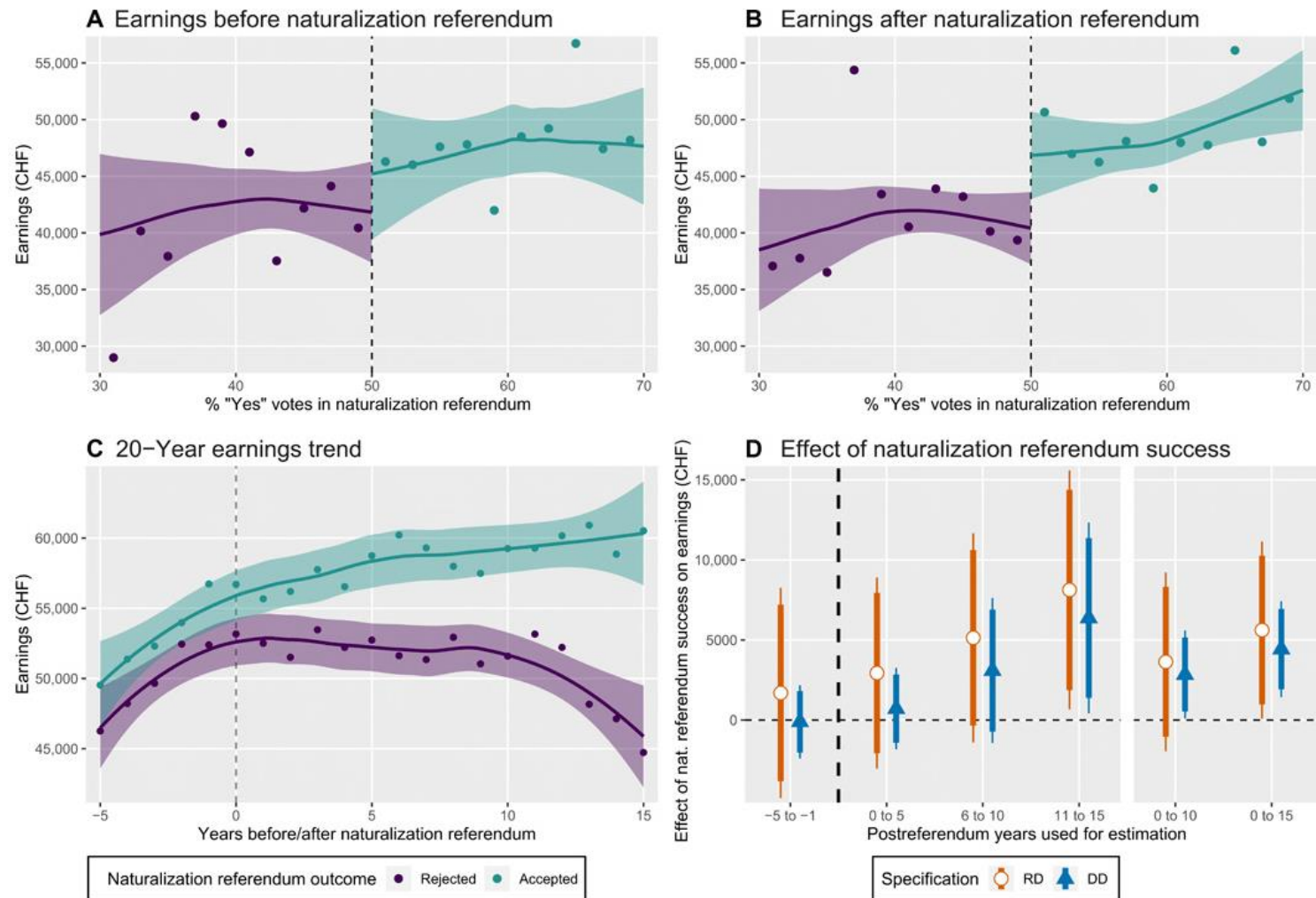


Source: Peters & Vink (2020).

Note: manuscript in preparation [do not reference].

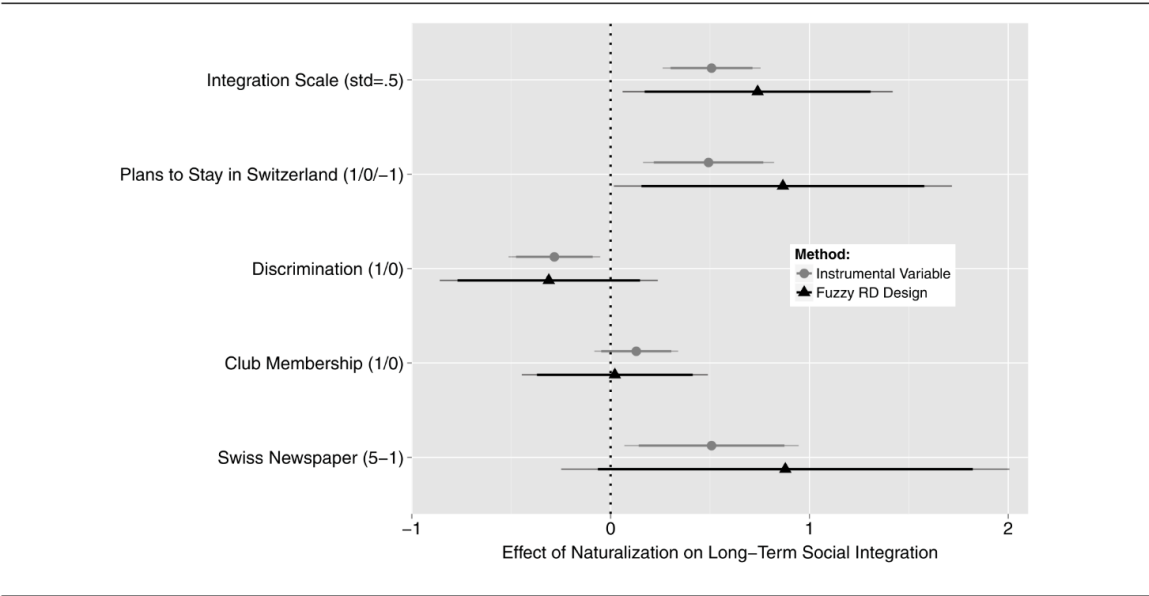
Annex II: Citizenship premium

Citizenship premium (1)



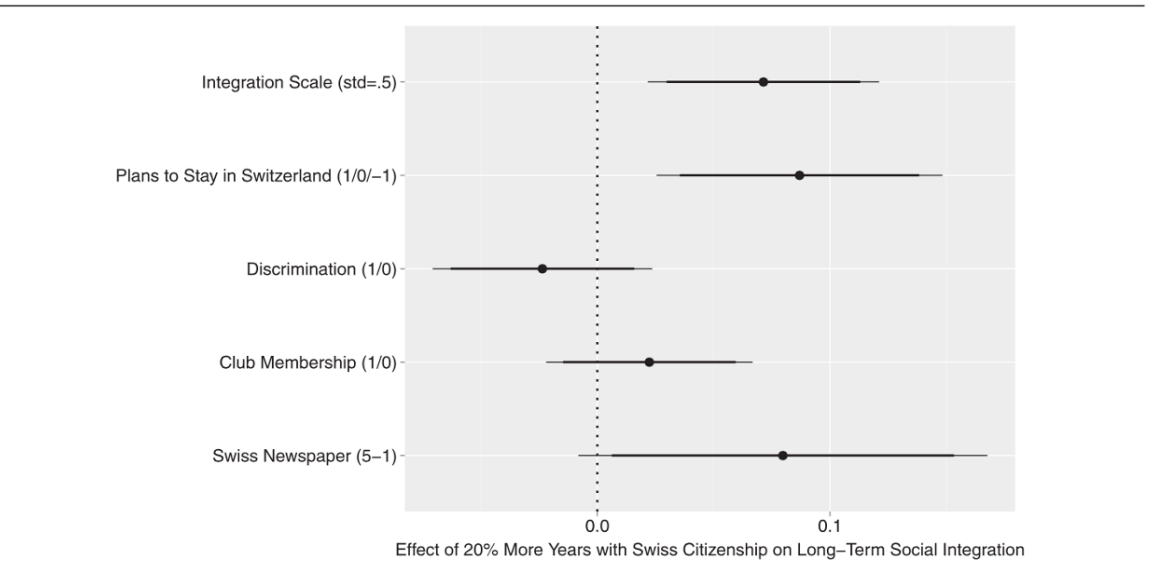
Source: Hainmueller et al. (2019).

FIGURE 4. Estimates of Effect of Naturalization on Long-Term Social Integration



Note: Effect estimates with robust 95% (thin) and 90% (bold) confidence intervals based on the instrumental variable design and the fuzzy RD design. Standard errors are clustered by municipality.

FIGURE 8. Effects of Early versus Late Naturalization on Long-Term Social Integration



Note: Effect estimates with robust 95% (thin) and 90% (bold) confidence intervals based on a two-stage least squares regression.

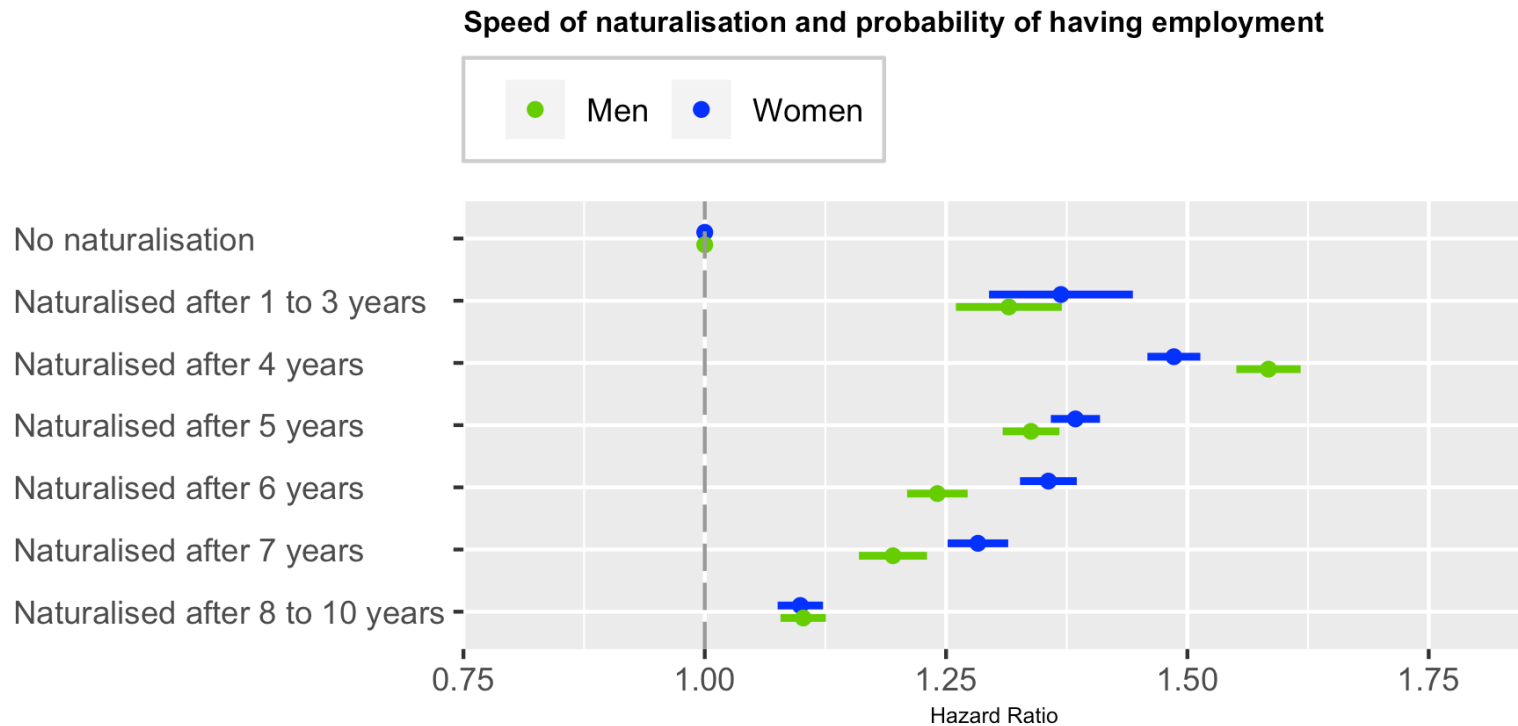
Source: Hainmueller et al. (2016).

TABLE 2: MINIMUM PERIOD (INTERRUPTED/ CONTINUOUS) OF RESIDENCE IN THE COUNTRY OF APPLICATION ('STANDARD' CASES)

Member State	Minimum period of continuous residence in the country of application	Minimum period of residence (that may be interrupted) in the country of application
AT	6 or 10 years (with exceptions)	
BE		5 years with max. 6 months interruption
BG	3 or 5 years	
CY		5 years ⁵³
CZ	5 years	Or 7.5 years with the last 2.5 years without interruption
DE	8 years	Interruptions of max. 6 months permitted. In total, duration of absence may not exceed half of the minimum period required.
EE		8 years, of which at least five years on a permanent basis
EL	3, 7 or 12 years	
ES	10 years	
FI	5 years	Or 7 years with the last 2 years without interruption
FR	5 years	
HR	8 years	
HU	8 years	
IE	1 year, immediately prior to the application	4 years during the 8 years prior to the year immediately preceding the application
IT	10 years	
LT		10 years, interruptions possible
LU		5 years, including one year of continuous residence immediately prior to the application
LV		5 years, interruptions possible, but last year prior to applications needs to be continuous
MT	6 years	Continuously for at least one year and for four years out of the preceding six years
NL	5 years	
PL	3 years	
PT	5 years	
SE	5 years	
SK	8 years	
UK	5 years	

Source: EMN (2020), p. 16.

Citizenship premium (2)



Source: Peters et al. (2018).